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Under the general title of Lehrmittel für den Geschichtsunterricht, the Verlag A. Pichlers Witwe und Sohn (Vienna and Leipzig) has published a very interesting and valuable series of Wandtafeln und Modelle zur Veranschaulichung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer. The Wandtafeln series, edited by Dr. A. Gall and Direktor A. Rebmann,—contains 33 charts, in colors, approximately 35 by 26 inches. They are on stiff paper, brown on the back, protected on all four edges by linen binding, and provided with eyelets, by which they may be hung up. The charts are thus well fitted, by reason of their size, for use in the class-room. They cost but two Marks each; the whole set, if bought at one time, can be obtained for 50 Marks, or eleven dollars. There is, finally, an accompanying pamphlet of 62 pages, which gives some description of the charts (1.35 Marks). The charts themselves are reproduced in this pamphlet, in small size.

In an elaborate advertising pamphlet describing the Wandtafeln the publishers give a general survey of their contents, as follows:

Die griechischen Tempelformen. Tafel 1, 2 und 3; Römische Tempelformen. Tafel 4; Die Baustile. Tafel 5, 6 und 7; Die Burg. Tafel 27; Akropolis von Athen. Tafel 28; Antike Gefäßformen. Tafel 15, 16 und 17; Griechische Vasenmalerei. Tafel 18 und 19; Das römische Haus. Tafel 29 und 30; Die Villa und die Thermer der Römer. Tafel 31; Römischer Hausrat. Tafel 26; Der griechische Schulunterricht. Tafel 9; Der gymnastische Unterricht. Tafel 11; Opferszene. Tafel 25; Griechischer Totenkult. Tafel 33; Die Kleidung der Griechen. Tafel 12 und 14; Die griechische Kopfbedeckung. Tafel 10; Die Kleidung der Römer. Tafel 8; Die griechische Bewaffnung. Tafel 20; Die römische Bewaffnung. Tafel 13 und 21; Das griechische Theater. Tafel 32; Theaterszenen. Tafel 22, 23 und 24.

Chart 8, which deals with Roman clothes, shows a man in toga and tunic, a boy in a tunic, and a woman in pallium and stola. 13 gives an admirable reproduction, the full size of the chart, of the tomb of a M. Caelius, described, in a beautifully cut inscription, as T. filius, Lemonia tribu, Bononia, centurio of the Legio XIIIX, who, at the age of 53, was killed in the Bellum Varianum. A portrait bust of Caelius shows him in his cuirass. To right and to left are two heads: inscriptions, also well cut, deal with the men represented by the heads. Chart 21

deals much more specifically with Roman arms. This too gives the tomb of a centurion, found at Carnuntum, and has a finely cut inscription. The chart shows also a *vexillum*, forms of the *signum*, two forms of the *pilum*, the *gladius*, cuirass, helmet, greaves, and a slave in charge of a horse. Altogether this chart is most illuminating.

Number 29 gives two plans of the normal Roman house, one of a house with Tuscan atrium and garden, but without a peristyle, the other of a house with tetrastyle atrium and a peristyle. This clear and instructive chart is reinforced by Chart 30, which shows two plans of elaborate houses, one the House of Pansa, the other the so-called House of Sallust, both at Pompeii. Number 31 shows a plan of the Villa of Diomede, at Pompeii, after Mazois, Les Ruines de Pompeii, 2, Plate 47, and a plan of the Insula at Pompeii which contains the smaller Thermae (see Mazois, 3, Plate 47).

Number 26 deals with Roman house furniture. It shows a tall candelabrum, on the top of which one or more lamps might be set; another candelabrum from which four lamps might be hung; a swinging lamp; a bronze bed frame from Pompeii, restored; a bronze tripod; a bisellium; a round marble table. Finally, there is a water-heater (Number 104 in the account in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.82). All these are reproduced from ancient originals; in most cases, too, there is a reference to a book in which the original is pictured and described.

Chart 32 gives a good diagram of a Greek theater. 22-24 deal with theatrical scenes. 22 reproduces, from Gerhard, Etruskische und Campanische Vasenbilder, Tafel 24, a scene representing the murder of Aegisthus by Orestes. Clytemnestra and Electra also are seen in the picture. 23 gives a scene from a Greek comedy; 24 portrays "Der Rasende Herakles", about to fling his infant son on the funeral pyre. This picture is based on a vase-painting, signed by Assteas; the original is in Madrid.

I have looked through the other charts, and can well understand the chorus of praise with which the set has been received in Germany.

The same firm has a series of models intended to illustrate Greek and Roman life. There are a dozen in all, ranging in price from 1.70 to 23.50

Marks. They illustrate various kinds of siege apparatus (e.g. *ballista*, *catapulta*, *pluteus*, *vinea*, *testudo arietaria*), a Homeric war chariot, a weaving frame, a scroll (3.35 Marks), and a triptychom (a tablet with four pages in all available for writing: 1.70 Marks), a Homeric double door with lock, and a Pompeian mill¹.

The firm publishes also a series of Wandbilder, of the same size and make-up as the Charts, illustrating Greek and Roman "Geschichte und Sage". These are reproductions of modern paintings, portraying Cicero addressing the Senate against Catiline, Scaevola before Porsenna, Cincinnatus at the plow, the murder of Caesar, etc.

Lastly, the firm handles 41 models in terra cotta, showing "Die Helden und Göttergestalten des Trojanischen Krieges". The standing figures in this group are about ten inches high. The figures cost 6.70 Marks each.

C. K.

CRETE AND CRETAN ARCHAEOLOGY¹

The one fact that looms large in the recent history of Crete lies in the political rather than in the archaeological sphere. Crete has achieved the goal of her ambition; she has acquired political union with Greece. After more than a century of massacre and revolution, in which murder and rapine were practiced indiscriminately by Christians and Mohammedans, the Greeks constituting the majority of the population have at length succeeded in definitely severing this island from the territory of the Caliphate. Latest of the three great epoch-making conquests of Islam, Constantinople, Rhodes, Crete, made in the heyday of Ottoman success against the combined forces of Christian Europe, Crete was tenderly cherished by the faithful, who felt that, if Crete were lost, after Crete would fall Rhodes, and after Rhodes Stamboul. The Sultan particularly clung to the island, as he well knew that the loss of Crete would endanger his claim to be Caliph in the councils of many doubting tribes; so for years the astute diplomacy of Abdul Hamid threatened and cajoled Greece by encouraging or restraining the growing power of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, with the result that Crete always has been sacrificed to the progress and the welfare of Greece. The tale is retold in his brilliant and lucid style, though not without a pro-Greek bias, by Victor Bérard, in *La Mort de Stamboul* (Paris, 1913).

There is no danger that the embattled Greeks, whether in Crete or the Balkans, will not abundantly engage the ready sympathy of Christian nations, but it is also well to remember the misery and the sufferings of the Mussulman refugees, driven by violence from the Fortunate Isle and scattered along

the bleak coasts of the islands and Asia Minor.

While the people have been threading this maze of confused politics, archaeologists have been working on the problems presented by the discoveries of the advanced civilization enjoyed by ancient Crete, and yet the great problems of the determination of the race and origin of the people who developed this Cretan culture and of the interpretation of their language are no nearer solution than they were five years ago. In 1909 Sir Arthur Evans published the first volume of *Scripta Minoa*, dealing with the hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes of the vast amount of written material brought to light in the excavations at Knossos, Phaistos and other sites on the island. In this careful and admirable work he presents all the records of Minoan script of the specified classes available at that time, and studies their relations to other scripts of the Mediterranean basin, giving parallel tables and copious illustrations. But in the interpretation of the texts he makes no advance over his previous success in explaining the system of numerals, and, as he himself says in his preface, "in the absence of bilingual inscriptions the material as a whole has not reached the stage when any comprehensive attempt at interpretation or transliteration is likely to be attended with fruitful results".

At the end of *Scripta Minoa* Sir Arthur Evans devotes a chapter to the discussion of the Phaistos disk, the most remarkable document that has been found in Crete, which was published by the finder, Dr. L. Pernier, in *Ausonia*, 1909, 255 ff. The discoverer, as well as Sir Arthur Evans, makes a minute and painstaking study of this unique record, but its meaning is still as much a mystery as when it was first brought to light; for abortive attempts at interpretation, such as that of Professor Hemphill in *Harper's Magazine*, January 1911, 187 ff., have not commended themselves to students of this subject. There seems little likelihood of solving the problem except through the medium of a bilingua¹ inscription or document.

The ethnic situation as it is now viewed is presented in a brief summary, accompanied by many notes and references, by Mr. H. R. Hall in his new book, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (1913), 31 ff.; Chapter 2 is devoted to the older civilization of Greece. No new theory is advanced, but there is a reiteration of the consensus of opinion that the Aegean civilization was self-developed in the Aegean basin. Mr. Hall, moreover, accepts the well-known thesis, so admirably supported a few years ago (1906) by Dr. Mackenzie in the *British School Annual*, Volume 12, that the origin of this Aegean people was in Libya, whence their migration took place in the stone age. The civilization which they developed to such a high degree was overthrown after weakening itself through too extensive expansion.

¹ Some of these models may be seen at Teachers College.

¹ I may be allowed to refer to my article, *The Discoveries in Crete*, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2.242-244.

sion, and about 1400-1200 B.C. the Cretan palaces were burned and the culture destroyed by invaders from the north, often called Achaeans, who may or may not have been Indo-Europeans, to whom belong the kings and the culture recounted in Homer, and who built the megaron type of house found on the mainland and in the Homeric poems. The discussion of palace types by Dr. Doerpfeld in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 30, 257 ff., and by Dr. Mackenzie in *British School Annual*, Volumes 11, 12, 13, is continued by Ferdinand Noack in a useful monograph, *Ovalhaus und Palast in Kreta* (Leipzig, 1908), a supplement to his earlier work on Homeric and Cretan palaces, to which is now added a recent article by F. Oelmann in *Archaeologisches Jahrbuch* 28 (1912), 38 ff., *Ein Achaisches Herrenhaus auf Kreta*. Dr. Oelmann believes that he has discovered a megaron type in a partially excavated suite of rooms at Gournia, but, since this type has been found nowhere else in Crete, final judgment must await further investigation and perhaps excavation of the house in question.

The Minoans driven out of Crete by an Achaean invasion scattered about the coasts of the Mediterranean, flocking with considerable strength to Palestine, where they were known as Philistines. In their turn the Achaeans were overrun by more virile tribes, perhaps of the same race, from the north, who brought iron with them and introduced new manners and customs.

For several years excavation at the three great sites, Knossos, Phaistos, Agia Triada, has been conducted sparingly, while the mass of archaeological material is being sorted and studied, so that interest has been diverted to some smaller places. Of these the most important is Mochlos, a small island close to the northeastern coast, where a town and cemetery were excavated by Mr. Richard Seager in 1908; the results were adequately published with many colored plates in 1912, in a work entitled *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*.

At Mochlos evidences were found of burials made at different periods in five kinds of tombs, of which the chamber tombs were earliest, containing objects not later than the Early Minoan period. These discoveries, including nearly 150 gold ornaments and 130 stone vases, are of particular importance as they prove that the Minoans at this early period had reached a degree of wealth and culture not hitherto suspected. The objects of gold are thin bands with repoussé and pricked ornaments, diadems, armlets, pins, beads, and chains of especially fine workmanship. Not elsewhere in Crete has such a treasure been found and the objects are comparable only to the hoards from Troy and Mycenae. The stone vases are of peculiar grace and beauty in material and execution. Thirty-eight of them are reproduced by Mr. Seager in color from M. Gilliéron's drawings,

and some have been brought to America through the kindness of the Cretan government and are now on exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. But the most valuable single object from Mochlos is a gold signet ring of the Late Minoan period, which was stolen from the Museum at Herakleion in 1910 and has not been recovered. On this ring is represented a cult scene, in which the goddess, seated beside a sacred tree, is borne toward the shore in a curious vessel, the stern of which is a dog's head and the prow the tail of a fish. On the beach stands a small building which has been interpreted as a pillar shrine. Thus the excavation of this small site has produced objects of high artistic worth, and has thrown much light on the condition of Crete in the Early Minoan period.

In the vicinity of Mochlos Mr. Seager also made most successful excavations on the island of Pseira (for description of them see *University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications*, 1910, 1 ff.). In 1910 he excavated, in coöperation with Miss Edith Hall, the cemetery at Gournia (see *Excavations in Eastern Crete, Sphoungaras*, Univ. of Penn. Anthropol. Pub., 1912, 43 ff.). In 1912 Miss Hall partially uncovered at Vrokastro a settlement of a later period, belonging to the people who occupied the island after the defeat and expulsion of the Minoans. Her results are interesting as illustrating the transitional period between the latest Minoan and the geometric age.

A still later period is represented by the results of the excavations made by M. Adolph Reinach at Mt. Phylakas, not far from Gournia, published in *Revue Archéologique* 21 (1913), 278 ff. On this site M. Reinach discovered a small poor shrine of a nature goddess, to whom were dedicated rude terra cotta statuettes of women, men and animals, chiefly cattle. These terra cottas he dates from 750-250 B.C.

Another small Minoan settlement has been found at the village of Tylisos, on the northeastern slopes of Mt. Ida, about seven miles west of Knossos, where a group of buildings was uncovered in 1909 by M. Joseph Hatzidakis, Ephor-General of Antiquities in Crete, who published his results in *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1912, 197 ff. At Tylisos were found, in addition to great numbers of stone and clay vessels, terra cottas, bronzes, seals, etc., the objects now expected from a Minoan site, several inscribed clay tablets, and a curious article that appears on an injured fresco. This object is interpreted as a kind of palm leaf fan, such as in the East was held by slaves over their masters' heads.

Finally, members of the Italian Mission have been continuing work on the Pythion and other buildings at Gortyna; in clearing the Odeon they uncovered fragments of two additional slabs of the famous law code, which, however, have not yet been published. In *Ausonia*, 1912, 7 ff. are notes on the excavations and

the inscriptions of Gortyna; and in pp. 27 ff. there is an article on the architectural details of the amphitheater by G. Bendinelli. Moreover, in *Monumenti Antichi*, 19 (1908-1910), Mr. R. Pariben publishes with excellent illustrations in color the famous sarcophagus from Agia Triada; and in the same volume there is an article on the neolithic pottery of Phaistos, by Dr. Angelo Mosso.

Thus the spade has not been idle in Crete, although the recent activity of the excavators has not equaled that of a few years earlier. In the meanwhile some books have been published dealing with certain phases of the Cretan culture and also with the civilization in general.

W. Aly issued in 1908 a monograph on the Apollo cult in Crete (*Der kretische Apollonkult*, Tübingen, 1908) in which he studies carefully all evidence of the worship of Apollo in the island, with the result that he concludes that the cult of Apollo was not of very great antiquity in Crete, but rather in some cases was imported from Delphi, in others was merely a reincarnation of local deities.

Another thorough German monograph on Crete is the dissertation by Diedrich Fimmen, *Zeit und Dauer der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (Leipzig, 1909), which discusses every object found in Crete that can be dated, and every feature of the civilization that helps to throw light on approximate chronology. This discussion is interesting and profitable but the results do not differ materially from the usually accepted system of Minoan dates. At the conclusion of the monograph is given a convenient synchronistic table which arranges chronologically in parallel columns the corresponding sites and dates of Egypt, Crete, the Greek Islands, the Greek mainland, and the coast of Asia Minor.

The lecture by W. Deonna on Cretan costumes, *Les toilettes modernes de la Crète minoenne* (Geneva, 1911), is entirely superficial in nature, simply repeating well-known facts; there is no justification for its publication.

In 1912 appeared a Munich dissertation on Cretan vase-painting by Ernst Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei von Kamares—bis zum Palast-stil*. Miss Hall had previously made a study of the classification of the pottery in a monograph entitled *The decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age* (1907), but Reisinger's work gives a more critical analysis of the stylistic features of the different groups, and especially studies the relation of Cretan pottery to similar ware found in neighboring lands. He too compiles a chronological table, in which he illustrates his belief that the evidence of the pottery does not support Sir Arthur Evans's scheme of classification, by uniting Early Minoan II and III into one class, Early Minoan II, and Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I into Late Minoan I, thus eliminating Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan III. This

book is the most thorough and convenient work on the subject that has yet been published.

Of the books that deal in a general way with the civilization as a whole the best is by C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece* (London and New York, 1909); see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4.166. Professor Hawes spent much time in Crete pursuing anthropological studies, some of the results of which are published in *British School Annual*, 16, 258 ff., in an article entitled, *Some Dorian Descendants?* Mrs. Hawes is well known for the successful excavation of Gournia, the results of which she has beautifully published, in a volume entitled *Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra* (Philadelphia, 1908); see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 2.242. These competent authorities then subsequently wrote together a general book on Crete, which is a thorough and accurate account of the Minoan civilization, but through lack of illustrations is of far less value than it otherwise would have been.

This lack is emphasized in a work by Rev. James Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete* (London, 1910), who gives many excellent illustrations which are the chief merit of a book which presents a summary in a popular way of the more important discoveries in the island, and of some of the phases of Cretan culture. See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4. 158-159.

But the best photographs of selected views and objects in Crete are reproduced and published in 100 plates by the enterprising and artistic photographer of Herakleion, Mr. G. Maraghianis, in *Antiquités Crétaines*, first series 1906, second series 1911 (\$12.50 for the two volumes).

Other popular books on Crete that have appeared are by Angelo Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* (New York, 1907), and by Père Lagrange, *La Crète ancienne*, 1908, while the admirable work by Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 1907, is still one of the most thorough and scholarly presentations of the whole Cretan question (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 2. 242).

Shortly before his death in 1910 Senator Mosso published his second book on Crete, *Le Origini della Civiltà Mediterranea* (Milano, 1910). The English edition, entitled *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, is an unsatisfactory translation by Marion C. Harrison, with some chapters and illustrations not included in the Italian work. Dr. Mosso had made excavations in Italy and Sicily, as well as in Crete, and so was able to compare many phases of prehistoric civilization, while his knowledge and interest in anthropology and chemistry enabled him to pursue investigations along lines often neglected by archaeologists. So while this book is full of vain repetitions and useless remarks it is of the greatest value because of the study and analysis of metal objects found on neolithic and other prehistoric

sites. Dr. Mosso does not carry this subject to any conclusions, but he proves by analysis that metal objects in the most ancient palace of Phaistos are of almost pure copper, and that tin is used very sparingly. The percentage of tin increases as the civilization improves, a fact which further extended and studied will throw light on the intercommunications of the primitive peoples of the Mediterranean and their mutual commercial relations.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR.

HORACE'S SABINE FARM

The readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY may be interested in an account of a day spent last summer at Horace's Sabine Farm. Early on August 15 a party of six started from Rome by the Via Tiburtina, not in a *raeda*, but in an automobile! We had been to Tivoli, but not beyond, and we had seen no such views of the Sabine Hills as we got that day in the clear morning light. The first pictures that we took were of the *praeceps Anio* where we crossed it before reaching Tibur.

We stopped at Tivoli only long enough to get the Falernian to help our lunch of olives and endives, then sped along the Via Valeria, which follows the Anio's winding course to Vico Varo. There we left the car on the road and walked up through the little walled town which was Horace's Varia. The day was a *festa* and the people were all out on the streets in holiday attire. Women were filling copper water jars at the town well. Old men were sitting on the steps of the quaint, octagonal Church. A dozen small boys followed us about.

A little beyond Vico Varo we turned to the left up the valley of the Licenza (Horace's *Digentia*), a pebbly river-bed wet with only a tiny trickle of water in August, but somehow keeping the valley green. We overtook and passed the diligence to Mandela and presently came to a side path at the left, marked with a sign-board bearing the words Villa d'Orazio Flacco. Somehow that modern Italian label seemed to dispel topographical queries and archaeological misgivings and we descended with the surety of Tyndaris or Maecenas, in response to an ode of invitation.

At the foot of the path an Italian met us who told us that he was De Rossi Nicola, Caposquadra degli scavi della villa d' Orazio, Licenza, and that he would take us to the *scavi*. I found afterward that an account of these new excavations had been published in The New York Times of June 8, 1913, but I had not seen the article and was entirely unprepared for the discoveries.

To our great regret, we were not allowed to take photographs or draw plans of the excavations; in fact De Rossi Nicola had to stay away from the celebration of the *festa* at the town of Licenza in order to restrain our desires. When we expressed

our regret over spoiling his holiday, he shrugged his shoulders and remarked: "Bisogna soffrire!" It was a true Horatian echo: Durum; sed levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas.

As there were no men at work on account of the *festa*, we had excellent opportunity to study the *scavi* and we had all De Rossi Nicola's attention. Since we were not allowed to make measurements or draw plans, the account of what we saw can be but sketchy. Moreover, I must state at once that, as the results of the work at the villa have not been published, we have not before us yet the proofs which Cavaliere Angelo Pasqui claims to have for the house being a building of the Augustan age, or Horace's own villa. The site, to be sure, is the one that has been most generally accepted by the archaeologists as the site of the Sabine farm, described so carefully by Horace himself in Epistles I. 16.

In the 'retired valley', entirely surrounded by mountains, the foundations of a little country house have been laid bare. In front there is a deep, rectangular garden with an oblong fish-pond in the center and a cryptoporticus around it on three sides. The house itself lies on the fourth, or north side of the garden and is reached by five steps from the cryptoporticus at either end and by five steps in the center from the garden. Across the front of the house there is a hall out of which the rooms open. In the center there is one room larger than the others, directly opposite the steps leading up from the garden, a room which the Italians call the triclinium. It has, however, a *compluvium* in the middle of the floor. The group of rooms at the right of this central room is marked by very fine mosaic work on the floor. The rooms at the left of the central room show a coarser variety of much less beauty; it is probably due to this fact that these rooms are called the servants' quarters. Pictures of two patterns of the fine mosaic work may be seen in La Lettura for September, 1913, and in the Illustrated London News for May 24, 1913. See also Die Woche, Heft 27, 1913. The colors in both are black and ivory-white or ecru. There are three rooms to the right of the central room and three to the left, so that the house is approximately symmetrical, although the proportions of the rooms are not identical.

Back of this row of rooms is another straight passage-way and north of this were other rooms on each side of the house with another garden between them. In this garden, at a much later time apparently, a Nymphaeum was built, rectangular in shape, with a water-course around it and with four apses on the sides. The walls of all these rooms seemed to have been restored to the height of about a foot out of the material found and are of regular *opus reticulatum* made of hard white limestone.

More elaborate than the plan of this simple little house are the ruins of the baths which have been uncovered to the west of the house. An aqueduct follows the line of the west cryptoporticus and separates Horace's villa from the bath structures, which are of the time of the Antonines. There is one large, oval *frigidarium* here to the west of the cryptoporticus. It has eight niches with triangular shaped tops around it and the holes for the entrance and egress of the water are visible. Over this *frigidarium* a mediaeval Church was built; its door and part of its wall can be seen on the west side. A mediaeval cemetery was made under the church by cutting a trench through the floor of the bath and in this several skeletons were found with medals about their necks dating from the sixth or the seventh century. In the group of the so-called Baths of the Antonines, there are also a *tepidarium* with a hypocaust floor and the furnace room with a hot air passage connecting it with the hypocaust of the *tepidarium*.

Another set of baths, said to belong to the time of Vespasian, lies to the north of this group, west of the house itself. There are an oblong *frigidarium* and an oblong *tepidarium* which seems to have been divided at a later period into two smaller rooms by a partition across. The hypocaust under the *tepidarium* is well preserved. This *tepidarium* of the 'Baths of Vespasian' encroached upon the western side of the ground plan of 'Horace's Villa'.

After we had gone over the *scavi*, we ate our lunch in the shade of the trees, gathered berries from the bramble bushes, photographed the *continui montes* encircling the valley, then walked to the west toward the highest mountain (perhaps Lucretius), and above a vintager's thatched hut found the gushing *fons*, worthy to give its name to a stream. The water pours out cold and clear from under an arch of rocks, hurries on in a little brook, falls in two delicate streams, over a high rock, green with moss and leaves, then disappears in the Licenza valley. Near the spring is a grove of silvery olives.

Late in the afternoon, De Rossi Nicola went with us up to the little hill town of Licenza to show us the small objects which had been found in the *scavi*. Licenza is high on the rocks and the town mounts upwards by many steps, up winding narrow ways between gray stone and stucco houses. Up at the top of the town in one room in an old house is what Paolo Giordani in his article in *La Lettura* calls "un vero e proprio Museo Oraziano". From the villa itself there are amphorae, fragments of marble and pieces of statues, and one little roguish faun's head which was on a fountain. There are pieces of pottery, red bowls of Arretine ware, and little lamps (one with the two horns on the bowl). We were shown also tesserae of mosaics that were on the wall, the predominating colors in dull greens

and blues, with a few pieces of old rose. Many pieces of a thick opaque glass were found in the cryptoporticus. There were keys and rings, too, from the house. From the Baths of Vespasian there are many fragments of fresco from the walls with delicate decoration of small figures of persons and animals and with some garden scenes. It is greatly to be hoped that before long Cavaliere Pasqui will publish a full account of his interesting discoveries.

Whether the archaeologists decide that the house whose plan has been uncovered may have belonged to Quintus Horatius Flaccus or not, we shall always feel that we have been to his Sabine citadel. There, at noon time, we stole a part of the solid day to lie under the greenwood tree, and read poem after poem in which he spoke of his retired valley, his peerless Sabine country, his mountains, his pure, cold spring. Perhaps it was an echo of Faunus's sweet pipes that seemed to thrill the valley. We could find no myrtle, but we hung garlands woven of blue harebell and little clusters of pink stars and ferns upon a tree and out of a bronze Roman *patera* which we had brought with us we poured a libation to the Manes of our friend, the bard.

VASSAR COLLEGE. ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT.

REVIEW

Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. By Jane Ellen Harrison. With an *Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy*, by Professor Gilbert Murray, and a Chapter on the Origin of the Olympic Games, by Mr. F. M. Cornford, Cambridge: at the University Press (1912). Pp. xxxii + 559, with 152 illustrations. \$5.00.

A volume so discursive offers scant opportunity for a brief and comprehensive view of its contents. Nor would such a view give much notion of the wealth of suggestion, conjecture and illustration which characterize this latest work of Miss Harrison, as well as her Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. To summarize the whole argument is the less necessary because in a copious introduction the author has herself performed that service well, though at some length (pages vii-xxi).

The sub-title of the work—*A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*—adequately indicates the point of view. Till quite recently the psychological factor of 'herd-suggestion' has received very little attention in the discussion of the history of religion. Now that it has been brought to the fore, we may expect that it will suffer over-emphasis, at least for a considerable period. The newer French school of sociologists has laid large stress on the influence of the group in the formation of religion, consistently with its principle that the key to religious representation lies in the social structure of the community

that elaborates it. By this school, especially by Bergson and Durkheim, Miss Harrison has been profoundly influenced since the publication of the Prolegomena. Frankly recognizing the inadequacy of her previous treatment, she devotes this volume to an interpretation of early Greek religion from her new point of view.

In the figure of Themis, so ably discussed a few years ago by Hirzel in his *Themis, Dike, und Verwandtes*, though from a very different angle, Miss Harrison finds herd-instinct, the collective conscience, the social sanction, the stuff of which religion is made. It is not religion itself—that would be tantamount to making religion nothing more than morality, for herd-instinct determines only the *moves* or customs of the group. It is not the collective conscience that constitutes religion but the emphasis and representation of that collective conscience. The collective conscience yields ritual; the representation of it yields myth or theology; the two combined yield religion. Such religion is an essentially emotional thing; it ceases to be such and becomes intellectualized only when it ceases to be collective and becomes individual.

A book founded on these principles must, of course, emphasize the social aspect of primitive religious phenomena. Magic is not, as painted by a Theocratus, or a Shakespeare, a hole-and-corner practice, but an affair of public ritual, performed with full social sanction; totemism is a relation between a group or class of men and a group or class of non-human beings, animate, or inanimate; sacrifice is not an individual rite; it is a communion between a group and the divinity or the demon. Religion, in short, is not, in its origin, an individual affair at all; the savage has not found himself—has not discovered his individuality as distinct from that of the group of which he forms a part. Such a group does not at first worship a god or even a demon; demon and then god are projected from the group itself, are in fact nothing more than the demonized leader of a band of young men who ascribe to him the sufferings they have themselves endured in the tribal initiation—the prototype of all social rites.

Now to this demon, thus projected from the group, either one of two things may happen. He may come under the sway of Moira, spatial division, or he may remain under the dominion of Dike, which is the ordered 'way' of nature temporally considered. In the latter case he clings close to nature and to his group. He is a year-demon, with functions not sharply defined. Rather is he charged in a general way with the task of promoting the welfare of his group: and since the thought and effort of early man must center in the food supply, it is this which the year-demon is expected to provide for the members of the group. For them he dies in winter, for them he rises again in spring; for them he is married in summer to a female representative of fertility.

In them is his whole *raison d'être*, as from them he was originally projected. He does not stand aloof from his worshipers; they may and must stand in most intimate relation to him, and by sacrament they may identify themselves with him. The religion will be one suffused with emotion and excitement, a mystery cult, perhaps an orgiastic worship. If the demon remains close to nature as a whole, he can never die while his group persists.

But let us suppose that he becomes identified with some particular department of nature, say fire. His doom is sealed. The growth of intelligence and the progress of science soon show that his services are not needed in that department, that fire is under the sway of natural laws, in accordance with which all its phenomena can be explained. He tends to become isolated from nature, is thought of as no longer with his group, but as separated from man by a great gulf, which it is insolence in man to attempt to overpass. He is herded with a dozen other divine expatriates, first on an earthly mountain, Olympus, then in the sky, remote from contact with the world. He is no longer chiefly or at all concerned with performing his part of the world's work. He has ceased to be a functional deity and demands worship and a sacrifice that is at first little more than a bribe. From such a deity the heart of man turns aside and sets its affection upon one of the many nature deities that the Olympian cults never recognized but could not supersede. Such is the fate of a desocialized deity. His antithesis, the year-demon, is the central figure of the book. Out of him comes both god and hero. He it is that becomes Kouros, Dactyl, Agathodaemon, Dithyrambos, Dionysos, Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, what not. It is his life history that forms the mold in which Greek tragedy was run (*ἀγών, πάθος, ἀγελα, θρῆνος, ἀγανάρωσις, θεοφάνεια*). The excursus on the ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy, in which this point is developed by Gilbert Murray, is in my opinion the most valuable portion of the volume. On the other hand, to me, at least, the chapter contributed by Mr. Cornford on the origin of the Olympic games is its least satisfactory part. He takes issue with the Euhemeristic view of Ridgeway, that these games were developed from the funeral rites of a dead hero, a concrete and historical personage. His position may be stated briefly, and perhaps fairly as follows:

The oldest part of the games was the quadrennial races of the women, the Heraea, which were probably originally annual and were instituted to determine who should be the bride of the sacred marriage, of which the winner of the men's race was groom. How the groom was selected (or whether there was a groom at all) in the assumed interval between the establishment of the Heraea and the men's games we are not informed. Later, the sacred marriage was thought to be contracted between sun and moon, but originally the pair were the powers of fertility in

more primitive forms. That is, the winner of the men's games originally represented a fertility-demon (237: but on 242 it seems to be originally a moon-race), and the Kouros who won it was only later identified with the sun. This of course supposes that the quadrennial Olympic games were originally annual and that they were changed, in some way not wholly clear to me, and not supported by any parallels, from spring to midsummer. Mommsen has shown (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, 4. 54) how closely Greek festivals are confined to their month. It assumes a change of time also for the Heraea. The contest with Oenomaus is the ubiquitous struggle between the demon of the old year and the demon of the new. The feast of Tantalus is the mythical dress of the rite by which the young year-god was initiated or inaugurated under the form of death and resurrection. Of the other great games Mr. Cornford says nothing and his theory bristles with difficulties (for others see Hutchinson in *The Classical Review* 27.133 f.).

Miss Harrison's own work is stimulating and extremely (no weaker word will do) original. The reader's interest is not allowed to flag. New theories, interesting etymologies, suggestive conjectures, novel interpretations, succeed one another in a profusion that is fairly bewildering. Just here, of course, the danger lies. She sometimes builds on a slender foundation, emphasizing as much of the evidence as suits her and ignoring the remainder. Her view that the Oschophoria was a rite of rejoicing for the new year *after* a rite of sorrow for the old (317 ff.) is constructed on the basis of Plutarch's account, but it disregards the fact that in his narrative the cry of joy apparently *precedes* that of grief. Then, again, she is too dogmatic and cocksure. Parallels for a taboo on the use of iron are common enough to cast doubt upon her attempt to explain why iron is not used in hunting the bull-victim (163). And how do we know that Hecate was once a three-headed dog? The passage quoted from Porphyrius does not attest it (199). And if Bethe's theory of the *androktasai* in the Iliad is really "beyond the possibility of a doubt", how comes it that Chadwick, presumably a gentleman of sane mind and average intelligence, has attacked it (*The Heroic Age*, Chapter XIII)? The danger of such facile conjecture is rendered all the more insidious by an occasional winsome frankness as when we are warned on page 461 that one of the author's conjectures is only a conjecture. Nor is it reassuring to find a conjecture, (*rhyton as cornucopia*) reappearing a few lines further on in the garb of "evidence" (311).

Then, again, Miss Harrison can see more in a picture than seven men that can render a reason. The use she makes of the illustrations seriously detracts from the value of the 152 fine figures with which the book is provided.

In the face of such refreshing enthusiasm as

hers it is perhaps invidious to interject a word of caution. We are continually being "surprised and delighted"; it is with "amaze and delight" that we discover this and that. One suspects that as most of the delight is certainly the writer's, most of the amaze and surprise is the reader's,—that Miss Harrison has found about what she was looking for, and, sometimes we must suspect, largely because she was looking for it.

The fairly copious footnotes contain numerous references, especially to writers of her own school, Cornford, Cook, Murray and the French sociologists. To others she frequently fails to give due credit. Eisler should have been credited with the view (466) that Orphism is largely influenced by Persian doctrine. Farnell she does not mention even to refute him; nor is there any reference to the work of Hirzel on the very subject of this volume. It is a far less serious matter that e.g. the argument would have been illuminated by reference to Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik*, 176 ff. (on the Δακτύλον μυῆμα, p. 403); to Heidel, *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*, 3. 18 (on the conversion of Aridaeus; 388^o); to Kaibel's view of the phallic origin of the Dioscuri (304).

The volume is 'interesting but not conclusive', a stimulating companion, but a dangerous guide.

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A CORRECTION

In my article on Some Tense-Sequences in Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, 7, 77-88), there is a point on which I failed to make my meaning clear. In saying that *cernam*, Aen. 2.667, expresses a "purpose still to be fulfilled", I meant "still to be fulfilled" with reference to the time of speaking, and not merely with reference to the time of the verbs in the sentence (*erat* and *eripis*) as Professor Knapp takes the phrase in his footnote; see *The Classical Journal*, 9, 36.

A little farther on, I wrote "depending upon the logically present perfect infinitive *consuesse*, which is itself . . ."; this appeared in print with editorial correction, as "depending upon the infinitive *consuesse*, which is logically a present-perfect, and is itself . . .". The meaning is of course "the perfect infinitive *consuesse*, which is logically present".

ROLAND G. KENT.

LATIN IN FRENCH SCHOOLS

Secondary education in France offers to boys four different courses of study: (1) Latin and Greek; (2) Latin and Sciences; (3) Latin and Living Languages; and (4) Sciences and Living Languages. There is not one of the *lycées* which does not report for this year an increase in the number of boys taking the Latin courses; and in several cases the Greek classes have grown at the expense of those in which no Latin is taught. The whole report shows that a reaction has set in against the feeling among parents that Latin was a useless subject, and it is now generally regarded as essential to a good general education.—From *The Times* (London), Educational Supplement, November 4, 1913.